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IS THE MARSEILLAISE A GERMAN COMPOSITION?

(The History of a Hoax)

By EDGAR ISTELE

Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.

IT is pleasant that even in the midst of the frightful world-war more agreeable episodes happened. If a man thinks that he has to do with a fact of world history, and his discovery reveals itself finally as a horrible swindle, then all of us of whatever nation, without prejudice, will rejoice at the remarkable occurrence.

On July 14, 1915, the bones of Rouget de Lisle, the poet and composer of the *Marseillaise*, were carried in state from Choisy-le-Roi to the Invalides in Paris. There they were given a provisional place until a special statute makes possible their removal to the Panthéon. On June 14, four weeks before this historical memorial, there appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the greatest and most influential of German papers, an article by the celebrated writer Alexander Moszkowski which seriously represented poor Rouget de Lisle a plagiarist; the text of the *Marseillaise* came, it said, "from several passages in Racine's tragedies," the melody was nothing else than a "forgotten church chant from the German side of the Bodensee."

The tone of Moszkowski's article may be seen from the fact that he compared this world-shaking discovery at least to a victory by General Hindenburg; in fact, if Herr Moszkowski (who, by the way, was born in Pilica, Poland) had established that the French national hymn had been stolen from Germany, he might have had a chance to see his name immortalized among the great discoverers, like Columbus.

But unfortunately the joy of Herr Moszkowski was short. I wrote a little article in answer to his, in which I showed in a few words that his whole story was a swindle. This refutation was accepted by the editors, but its publication was, in spite of my urgent reminders, delayed: Were they afraid of the truth? were they unwilling to incur the reproaches of their readers? Finally

I was requested to be so good as to withdraw my article from publication, since it was not in accordance with national interest to glorify Rouget de Lisle; also I was reminded that Herr Moszkowski had a brother living in Paris (a naturalized Frenchman, the composer Moritz Moszkowski) and that my article might cause him unpleasantness. I answered that it was in any case more to the national interest bravely to spread the truth abroad than to let a lie go uncontradicted; and that if the French didn't know who composed the *Marseillaise*, then my authentic article would do the Parisian Herr Moszkowski less harm than his brother's, which was based on fantasy. It was truly a stiff battle. They asked me at least to permit a counter explanation by Herr Moszkowski as conclusion of my article; against that I made no objection, but I refused under any circumstances to give up my right to the publication of the article which had been accepted. Finally, precisely on July 14, my article appeared. To my astonishment the editors omitted the name of Herr Moszkowski and there was no answer from him!

Truly it was a shame that good Herr Moszkowski should have such luck. His article showed such persuasive clarity, that I myself might perhaps have believed him literally, had I not already, in my studies, gained so intimate a knowledge of the subject. Thus writes Moszkowski:

A Modest Home of a Musician at Meersburg on the Bodensee.

A century and a half ago there lived at the court of an electoral prince a prosperous choirmaster named Holtzmann. He was a copious composer of church music, and then more church music, of which none at all ever reached the outside world. The music has vanished away, and according to the probabilities of musical history, nothing of value was lost with his Chorals, his Motets and his Glorias. But one day, when he was writing still another Credo, he had luck. Struck by an isolated flash of genius, he put on his paper a melody which soared above the commonplaces of municipal music. This melody of Holtzmann's, composed for the Church, intended for the edification of the good people of Meersburg, is—one pinches oneself as one writes it—is the *Marseillaise*.

Doesn't it sound like a pretty fairy tale, that begins with the words "Once upon a time"? Well, it is only a fairy tale, for—I, too, like Herr Moszkowski, pinch myself as I write it down—this Kapellmeister Holtzmann never existed at all and his alleged *Credo* is a falsification.

"I like," says Goethe's Faust, "to expound the whole text." Let us examine these circumstances *ab ovo*.

As a matter of fact, the *Marseillaise* was composed, words and music, by Rouget de Lisle at Strasbourg on the night of April 24-25, 1792. It was printed by Dannbach in Strasbourg on a loose sheet, without the author's name, under the title *Chant de guerre pour l'armée du Rhin* (only later did it receive the name *Marche des Marseillais*). Immediately after, the assertion was made that Rouget was not the author. We can point to testimony that is beyond question to show that there is no truth in the accusation. Grétry writes in his *Mémoires ou Essais sur la musique*, Paris, year V (that is, 1797, in a note in the third volume which bears the date Sept., 1794):

The Marseillaise is ascribed to me and to all those who have furnished it with an accompaniment. The author of this song, of the melody as well as the verses, was the citizen Rouget de Lisle. He sent me his hymn "Allons, enfants de la patrie" from Strasbourg, where he then lived, six months before it was known in Paris. According to his wish, I had copies made and distributed."

Thus is the authorship of Rouget, in so far as other contemporary French composers or poets could call it in question, unassailably established. In the lifetime of Rouget, who lived forty years after the composition of his most famous work, no one ventured to contest the authorship with him. Thus he was able to say truthfully when he first printed it over his name in the year 1825 in a definitive edition which is a sort of musical testament (the *Marseillaise* is number 23 of his *Fifty Songs*): "I wrote the words and air of this song at Strasbourg, the night of the proclamation of war at the end of April, 1792."

In 1842 the story first appeared that the *Marseillaise* was of German origin. Amédée Rouget de Lisle, the nephew of the composer, in a pamphlet (appearing in 1865, of which only 100 copies were printed, now extraordinarily rare) *La vérité sur la paternité de la Marseillaise*, mentioned a version which had cropped up in a Carlsruhe paper. The Carlsruhe legend rests on an unauthentic note in the *Chronique de Paris* for August 29, 1792, wherein the words indeed were ascribed to Rouget, but the music was said to have been composed by a certain "Allemand." This name "Allemand" the Carlsruhe writer turned into "Deutschen" (German), but the learned Alsatian Georg Kastner in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* for March 26 and April 18, 1848, clearly exposed the mistake. It was Kastner, too, who reduced to silence the further accusations of plagiarism brought by Castil-Blaze and by Fétis. Since Fétis adduces no German composer, I will pass over his

remarks here. Of more weight is Castil-Blaze, who affirms the *Marseillaise* to be of German origin. Thus Moszkowski writes:

Castil-Blaze, the most universal [?] among French musical critics, gives in the *Revue Musicale* for July 18, 1852, [?] proof that the melody is German, a song with chorus and refrain, which was first heard in 1782 at the house of Mme. Montesson, the wife of the Duke of Orléans. This French assertion was firmly established beyond all doubt [!] by an archæological find on German ground: the musician Fridolin Hamma, city-organist at Meersburg, discovered in 1861 the manuscript of a *Missa solennis* by Holtzmann, and this manuscript established the fact that Rouget de Lisle not only used the Credo of this mass for his text but that he copied it note for note.

One thing is already clear to the unprejudiced reader. How can a "song with chorus and refrain" be "established firmly beyond all doubt" by the Credo of any Mass whatsoever? Simple logic says there is some inconsistency. But I shall show that the assertions of Castil-Blaze are not corroborated in the least by the so-called Mass by Holtzmann.

In the first place, I find in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, number 51, for the year 1847 a postscript to the Parisian's statement, by Dr. F. S. Bamberg, to the effect that Castil-Blaze repeatedly made requests that he might be informed of evidence in Germany that the *Marseillaise* was made from a German song. That would at this moment certainly be interesting, for the discussion about the origin of the *Marseillaise* had again become a matter of interest on account of the narrative in Lamartine's *Girondists*. To these open questions there appeared but one answer (number 3, 1848). This answer came from Karl Gaillard, a friend of Richard Wagner's, then editor of the *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung*. Gaillard said, "*Without being able in the least to vouch for the truth of the statements*" that he had heard from older people in Berlin, that when the *Marseillaise* was first heard in Berlin, people were surprised to recognize in it a German song already known there. As authors of this German hymn were credited the poet Forster and the composer Reichardt; they were both known for their enthusiasm for the French Republic. This German text, said Gaillard, was later published together with the French by Rellstab in Berlin.

It is particularly remarkable that not a single copy either of Forster's poem or Reichardt's composition has been discovered up to this time. I surmise that the following is at the base of the rumor. In some way, Forster got the text of the *Marseillaise* sooner than anybody else and set himself to making a translation of it; since the first copies had only one air with no accompaniment, Reichardt (especially as the cause appealed to him) had only to

prepare the accompaniment, and thereby he got the reputation of being the composer, just as Grétry had done. That people in Berlin who knew this German setting before the original French form might have taken it for the original, is easily to be seen.

It is harder to explain how Castil-Blaze, who in 1847 knew nothing about the alleged German origin of the *Marseillaise*, could a few years later make the statements quoted by Moszkowski. He repeated them in his book *Molière musicien* in 1852. They are also to be found in Anatole Loquin's *Les mélodies populaires de la France*, page 113, where the older French claims about the *Marseillaise* are discussed in the light of the *weightiest* documents. Loquin also dismissed as untenable the statements of Castil-Blaze, and a few years later Fétis, in his discussion with Kastner, could not adduce them. It is enough to add that Castil-Blaze's own son, Blaze de Bury, in his book *Musiciens du passé* (published in 1880) does not agree with his father's theory. How Castil-Blaze juggled with the truth may be seen from a few of his notes; he wrote: "For half a century the German papers had been advertising their *Marseillaise*; Rouget de Lisle was still living and I did not wish to tell what I knew." Thus, Castil-Blaze, who, five years before, had openly inquired in Germany whether it were true that the *Marseillaise* had its origin there and had received an answer not very gratifying to his own opinion, now acted as if he had already known the truth in Rouget's lifetime. That the "German papers had advertised their *Marseillaise* for half a century" cannot be supported by a single instance.

It is of course not impossible, though there is no proof, that some German folk-tune in some form may resemble the *Marseillaise*, or that Rouget de Lisle may have heard some such tune in Strasbourg. But how little one may draw conclusions from such resemblances to popular tunes Wilhelm Tappert has shown in his essays *Wandernde Melodien* (2nd edition, Berlin, 1880); he even gives a striking illustration from the *Marseillaise*. Beyond a doubt one line in the *Marseillaise* (*Contre nous de la tyrannie*, etc.) sounds literally like a passage in the German Choral *Der goldenen Sonne Licht und Pracht*: yet it appears, as Tappert rightly shows, as a phrase which is a musical commonplace and nobody's property; he further shows that such a sequence of tones may be found in French folk-music as well as in German, that it has been taken over in classic music (Mozart's *Bandl-Terzett*). On the other hand, the German *Song of Rinaldo*, which in part is identical with the beginning of the *Marseillaise*, was certainly composed after it, since the novel *Rinaldo Rinaldini* by Goethe's brother-in-law

Vulpius, from which the words of the song come, first came out in 1800. There is a similar explanation for the story given by R. F. Meyer (*Versailler Briefe*, Berlin, 1872); he tells of a song from Upper-Bavaria, *Stand ich auf hohen Bergen*, which was sung in 1842 by an old lady of seventy years, the melody of which went back to her grandmother's time, and which was said to be very similar to the *Marseillaise*.

Tappert, whose manuscript notes relating to the *Marseillaise* I have examined in his papers in the Berlin Royal Library, has also striking contributions to make to the clearing up of the Hamma-Holtzmann case. I emphasize this especially because Tappert (who was a man of great wisdom and colossal industry, an intimate and valued friend of Wagner, who fell into dire want as a result of an unsuccessful suit) after his death suffered from such contempt in Berlin that any ignorant journalist did not hesitate openly to abuse his views—a state of affairs of which I was to get a taste in the course of my controversy.

And now at last to my main theme, the *Credo* of the "Hofkapellmeister Holtzmann." No man had any inkling of this epoch-making musician or of his work until suddenly in 1861 there appeared in number 16 of the *Gartenlaube*, one of the foremost family magazines of the time, an article bearing the arresting title: *The Marseillaise composed by a German*. The article was signed J. B. Hamma. In truth, the author who is famed only for this one short article was named Fridolin Hamma. According to Schubert's musical *Konversationslexicon* (1871) Hamma was born in 1818 in Friedingen on the Donau (Württemberg), was Music-director in Schaffhausen, then official organist in Meersburg on the Bodensee; in 1871 he was music-director and principal of a music-school in Neustadt (Palatinate); he died sometime in his eightieth year, the exact date not being ascertainable. Let us see now what Hamma has to tell us. I will leave out all superfluous matter.

The hymn of the Revolution, known under the name of the *Marseillaise*, is not, as hitherto supposed, by the poet Delisle [sic]¹ but by a real German, the Hofkapellmeister Holtzmann. It is the same Holtzmann in praise of whom Mozart writes in his letters to his father from Mannheim and a religious cantata by whom was produced during Mozart's stay in Paris.

Here I choke, as Faust says. No one who knows Mozart's biography and letters has ever found any mention of Holtzmann:

¹Hamma perhaps confuses Rouget de Lisle with the poet Jacques Delille (1738-1813).

he does speak of the well-known Ignaz Holzbauer, who was born in Vienna, in 1711, and died in 1783, nine years before the composition of the *Marseillaise*. Hamma's assertions apply to him well enough: he is indeed "a true German," for Leopold Mozart writes to his distinguished son on November 10, 1777, "Herr Holzbauer was always a brave, true man." But although Wilhelm Heinse, the author of the noteworthy musical novel *Hildegart von Hohenthal*, rightly says of Holzbauer that he was the living chronicle of eighteenth-century music, still he did not—shall we say, unfortunately?—compose the *Marseillaise*. This I shall show positively. For Holzbauer's works, among them the well-known opera "*Günther von Schwarzburg*," admired by Mozart, have been edited by the most distinguished historians of music, men like Kretzschmar and Riemann; and up to to-day no one has discovered any trace of the *Marseillaise*. Still, perhaps Hamma was more lucky. Let us look further on, at what the man writes:

When this Kapellmeister composed the melody of the *Marseillaise*, it was not at all his intention to produce so world-shaking a tune, for—who would suspect it?—the melody around which cluster so many bloody memories was originally the music for the Credo of a mass which was composed certainly twenty years before the French Revolution.

The manuscript from which I made this discovery is marked 1778. During my residence in Meersburg, as organist and director of music in the city church of Constance, I examined with care the library of music in the bishop's residence which came under my management, and which is remarkably rich in manuscripts.

Especially interesting to me were manuscripts which had come from Kloster Salem to Prince Dalberg and from him to the city church: these were mostly masses, vespers, etc., by Italian and German masters. Among them I found six Masses with this title:

VI Missae breves, stylo elegantiori ad modernum genium elaboratae, comp. de Holtzmann.

These especially appealed to me for their beautiful airs, their flowing melodies, rich setting, and delicate instrumentation. I looked them through carefully, and naturally was not a little surprised to discover in the Credo of number IV (in G) the complete air of the *Marseillaise*. As one can see, this is not a question of a similarity, of a reminiscence which might happen accidentally, but it is a note for note identity in melody, in harmony, measure, and key, so that Delisle must have had Holtzmann's Mass before him, must have copied it off when he set the music to his poem.

Stop a minute. So it wasn't Holzbauer. If we provisionally accept the truth of Hamma's find, we are confronted with the facts that a certain Holtzmann (whom Hamma confuses with Holzbauer) wrote a mass in 1778, the Credo of which "as one can see" was note for note like the *Marseillaise*. Yes, but one "saw"

nothing. Hamma took good care not to publish his discovery, for then the swindle would have been discovered sooner. Whoever knows the true story of the *Marseillaise* knows how impossible it would have been for Rouget de Lisle in that famous turbulent night, even with the best will in the world, hurriedly to copy down the melody from a mass. Listen to Hamma's naïve explanation:

The thing is easily [?] explained. Delisle wrote the verses of his hymn and wanted to have it sung; but since no composer was at hand, he put down the music himself, being somewhat of a dilettante in music. Probably, [!] he had often played and sung in churches and convents, so that he knew Holtzmann's masses, which though still only in manuscript had become known on the Rhine, in Alsace, in Speier and in Strassburg. [One question: if they had become so widely known, how does it happen that no copy has been found except the one at Meersburg?] He found it then more convenient to supply his words with a tune already at hand than to hunt up a new one. We will not find fault with him for it; he made a good choice, and if this were the only robbing of German property which occurred in those times, then our forefathers were to be congratulated. Nevertheless, I believe it my duty to the truth to give the proof—which I do the more gladly that it concerns the veritable property of a German composer, whose work deserves to be snatched from oblivion . . .

I do not know any biography of Delisle, but it would be possible from knowing where he lived to discover the church where he found the jewel with which he adorned his spirited poem and through which it won its greatest significance. In the meantime I announce to those who are interested in the circumstances, that the masses of Holtzmann are kept as the property of the city church in Meersburg in the collection of church music there, and that the original of the *Marseillaise* Credo referred to will gladly be shown by the present director of music.

Two points in this statement are especially noteworthy:

1. The tone of absolute truth in the statements of Hamma.
2. The reference to the proof at Meersburg.

Let us see how these two points stand.

Naturally, Hamma's article attracted unusual attention in Germany, and not less in France. Though people in France were not inclined on patriotic grounds to believe Hamma, still they could bring no counter-proof, since Hamma was so prudent as not to publish his Credo. On the other hand, people on the German side energetically attacked him, though unfortunately not publicly.

It was not until 1887—that is, twenty-six years later—that the musical critic Ernst Pasqué published in Number 10 of the *Neue Musikzeitung* of Cologne a notice in which he brought forward the following facts. The son of Hofgerichtsdirektor Christ, of Baden (who had belonged to the famous Frankfort

Parliament in 1848, and who is clearly shown thereby to have been a prominent man)—this son told Pasqué that his father once, in 1861, journeyed to Neustadt to see Hamma, because the researches which Christ had personally pursued in Meersburg had been entirely without success. Hamma had—so Christ affirmed—answered evasively: “It must have got lost in Meersburg.” Also a copy of the Credo which he said he possessed, he refused, on trifling grounds, to show.

With that the thing was clearly enough branded as a swindle. I must and will, however, give the further proof, since it has been believed for years and since to me in 1915 a “proof” of the existence of Holtzmann’s masses was openly offered.

The first to reopen the question after Christ’s energetic statement was Wilhelm Tappert. In his papers there is a copy of a letter signed by F. Hamma from Munich, August 19, 1882. This runs:

I discovered the Masses of Holtzmann at the time that I was choir-master and organist to the earlier bishop’s church in Meersburg on the Bodensee (1845–49). I was then still very young and treated the discovery as a musical curiosity without realizing the political bearing of it. That did not become clear to me until later. The burgomaster, Hentstetter, who played the contrabass in the church, was interested in the remarkable Credo and took the Holtzmann masses to his house, which could happen the more easily in that Herr Dekan Heim was very indignant after the first performance, and forbade me to repeat it.

Up to this point the story seems plausible. Now come some remarkable statements:

During my residence in Geneva I related the fact in a company and some Frenchmen got angry about it. I had despatched to me an attested copy. This copy I gave later to M. Fétis in Brussels, who entered into conflict with the descendants of Rouget de Lisle about the authorship. That led to a suit, which, as I read in the newspapers, he won.

The exact contrary is true: Fétis lost his suit with the nephews of Rouget and finally had to state in a letter to Kastner, dated October 27, 1864 (printed by Loquin), that he had no longer any doubts about Rouget’s authorship of both the words and music. “Dès ce moment, toutes les doutes sont dissipées, et toute polémique doit cesser.” (“From this moment, all doubts are dissipated and all discussion should cease.”)

Moreover, in this whole discussion, Fétis made no reference to Hamma’s discovery: he either never received Hamma’s alleged offering or he had not taken it seriously. Fétis had

attributed the authorship to Navoigille, but he was convinced of the contrary by Kastner. Hamma goes on:

Burgomaster Henstetter with his wife and daughter died and it was not possible for me to get the original copy of the Mass in question: also the choir-regent in Meersburg could give me no information except that the masses of Holtzmann appeared on the inventory but were no longer to be found.

So, between 1845 and 1849 took place the first and the last appearance of the Credo in Meersburg, the original of which the Burgomaster took home. But in 1861 in the "Gartenlaube" Hamma referred everyone to the original in Meersburg, while in answer to the demands made by Christ, he tried to excuse himself by telling of the death of the burgomaster. However, finer things follow:

But I happened to find in the Cistercian convent at Ochsenhausen an old copy of the masses in question, which, tempted by an extraordinarily high price, I sold to an American. The copy of the melody, which I sent you, is from a copy of the original which I wrote hastily in my notebook at the time. Copies of the Holtzmann Masses might undoubtedly be found in the churches of Upper Swabia and Baden. Several years ago there was in the *Swabian Merkur* an advertisement of the auction of musical instruments and music from the church administration in Constance, where masses of Holtzmann were mentioned. Unfortunately I could not go to Constance as I intended.

Remarkable circumstance! Unfortunately, too, the lucky American who alone possessed "authentic" masses by Holtzmann, never turned up again. Tappert notes that he kept with the letter a copy of the passage from the sketch-book referred to in it:

Whoever has any experience with old things, must see at the first glance that the Credo is formed from the *Marseillaise*, not the other way around. It doesn't matter who did it. Perhaps such a composer as Holtzmann never existed.

So Tappert, who straightens out a few other inaccuracies in Hamma's long letter: Hamma brings up the opinion already noted on the authorship of Reichardt (he writes "Reichmann"!) and falsely asserts that the text of the *Marseillaise* was only a translation of a war song by Eulogius Schneider. The truth is, what even Tappert did not know, that some six months after its composition, Schneider translated the poem into German. (See Tiersot, *La Marseillaise*, Paris, 1915, p. 73.) This version by Schneider seems to have been printed in the paper *Argos oder der Mann mit vier Augen* (editors Schneider and Buttenschön). Neither Hamma nor Tappert could have run across copies of it. Hamma declares that he got this information from Buttenschön

in Speyer and Schmolze in Pirmasens, two intimate friends of Schneider. At all events this "proof" that the authorship of the text may be attributed to Germany, is shattered. Tappert shows in conclusion:

The credibility of Herr Hamma's account is unfortunately weakened with those who know him and who know the circumstances. I must say that to me the contradictions between the first statement in the *Gartenlaube* and the letter of 1882 are extremely suspicious. Lack of fundamental knowledge and trustworthy memory are combined with unusual credulity. He is taken in by every old gossip.

Unfortunately I can not find among Tappert's papers the air sent to him by Hamma. It seems on the whole as if the letter of Hamma's given above had not been sent to Tappert himself, as would be thought at first, but to August Reiser (1840-1904), who was from 1880-86 Editor of the *Tongersche Neue Musikzeitung* in Cologne. In November, 1892—that is, not until 31 years after Hamma's discovery—there appeared in the periodical *Chorgesang* a contribution from Reiser dated May 1 and entitled *Neues von der Marseillaise*. In the introduction to this article it was stated that the trustworthiness of Hamma was to be doubted, as indeed were also the Masses and even the existence of Holtzmann. In this connection it was mentioned as "new and interesting" that the author had happened upon an apparently old copy of the Credo in question in a manner surprising but unimportant for the subject (!). Reiser wrote further:

That the composition which is reproduced in this number can make claim to authenticity is an open question; I do not venture an answer. Merely proof was to be furnished that the "legendary" Credo did actually exist. In the style of this composition one can not fail to see the fashion of the old local masses. But that does not prove much, for unfortunately similar methods were very much the fashion with us a few years ago. This unusual work will at least arouse interest as a curiosity!

I find a strange commentary on this article of Reiser's in Tappert's marginal note:

On August 10, 1881, Reiser sent to me from Cologne the fragmentary manuscript of the Credo of the supposed Holtzmann. Reiser acted as if he had discovered anew an old document. Not at all! According to my conviction it is only a fruit of the Hamma swindle. Wrote to Reiser Nov. 19, 1892. Reiser is publishing the copy which Hamma sent him; on this see passages in Hamma's letter to Reiser, Munich, Aug. 19, 1882.

Before I now republish Reiser's copy of the Holtzmann Credo, I shall sketch the further development of the affair. From

Reiser, the violinist Adolf Köckert (1828–1911) got a copy, about which he spoke in an article in the *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (1898). Köckert (who incidentally took Grison for the author of the *Marseillaise*, a theory long ago disproved) added an interesting news-item to the controversy. He writes:

Authentic documentary proof does not appear, only the word of Fridolin Hamma, who as he lay ill and at the point of death in Cannstatt assured his brother Franz Hamma, now royal music director in Metz, (to whom I owe this information): "What I wrote is true: I had a copy of Holtzmann's Credo which I can't find. I will do nothing more in the matter." [Apparently Fridolin Hamma had sent this copy to his colleague Reiser, and then forgotten it.]

Now we must ask this question: Was Hamma a deceiver or was he a dupe or was he both? I think he was the last, and this impression is strengthened by a conjecture of Köckert's. He surmises that in order to make fun of the revolutionary ideas of Hamma, who had taken so serious a part in the revolution of 1848 that he had to fly to Switzerland, a joker had imposed on him with this mass the *Marseillaise* Credo. And after carrying out his joke, the joker had taken back the mass. And later Hamma, when he went on the search from Munich to Meersburg, failed to find it, as did many other people who "without the least result" took a great deal of trouble to get a trace of the treasure. The more remarkable is it that suddenly, when I had confuted Moszkowski's fantasies in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, I was opposed by a certain Rudolf Franz in a long article, *Das Urbild der Marseillaise*, in *Vorwärts* (the great Social Democrat paper) for August 9, 1915. He asserts that the earlier seekers in Meersburg must have gone about it "very indifferently," for he had himself seen in the choir of the church about three years before, at least one mass by the alleged Holtzmann. He declares that he was at Meersburg at the beginning of August, 1912, where the organist helped him search with his son. In a cabinet of music he found among eighteenth-century masses one by Hamma and one by Holtzmann. However, the one by Holtzmann, a *missa solennis* (where Hamma spoke of a *missa brevis*), proved not to be the one sought for. All the other old music had been either burnt at some earlier time, or sold as waste paper. Franz, too, had to conclude that it would hardly be possible to find the Credo of the little mass by Holtzmann in the diocese of Constance. But he does not give up hope:

Perhaps it is still tucked away in some other corner of the southwest. Germany has supplied many spiritual weapons for the battle of

mankind's deliverance, and it would be a small comfort if also the revolutionary Song of Songs that is brought back to us to-day after a long while should be proved to be old German property.

I then answered Herr Franz that since the "Holtzmann" manuscript found by him lay in such suspicious proximity to one by Hamma, I could only believe that Hamma had "baptized" other old manuscripts besides the *Marseillaise* mass with the same name. But even if I granted the existence of Holtzmann, even if I granted the authenticity of the Credo, there still remains a great stumbling-block. *I can prove with mathematical accuracy, not only that the mass was not in existence before 1792, but even that it came into existence after 1825.* Compare the two following versions of the *Marseillaise*: the first is that of the first printed edition of 1792, the second is the one which Rouget de Lisle published in 1825 as the authoritative form. (It was further "officially revised" and somewhat spoiled under General Boulanger.) Whoever cannot see that the Holtzmann "Credo" which I reproduce is fashioned after the *second* version, is beyond help of mine; musically he cannot be saved:

THE MARSEILLAISE, 1792 AND 1825

The image displays a musical score for the Marseillaise, comparing two versions: the 1792 version (labeled I) and the 1825 version (labeled II). The score is written for two parts, I and II, and is organized into four systems. Each system consists of two staves, with the 1792 version on the top staff and the 1825 version on the bottom staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines, illustrating the differences between the two compositions. The 1792 version is marked with a 'C' time signature, while the 1825 version is marked with a 'G' time signature. The score is presented in a clear, legible format, allowing for a direct comparison of the two versions.

HOLTZMANN'S CREDO

Allegretto moderato

III Cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem, fac-
 III to-rem coe-li et ter-rae, vi-si-bi-li-um om-ni-um, vi-si-
 III bi-li-um om-ni-um. Et in u-num, Et in u-num Do-mi-num Je-sum
 Et in u-num

III Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge-ni-tum; et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te
 III om-ni-a sæ-cu-la. De-um de De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-
 III ne. Et vi-tam ven-tu-ri, ven-tu-ri sæ-cu-li. A-men.

Here "Et incarnatus" and "Resurrexit" in the same manner before the ending.